




# THE VANGUARD

A PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY on the BLACK PANTHERS

RUTH-MARION BARUCH  
and PIRKLE JONES

INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM WORTHY



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**CLEAVER**  
FOR PRESIDENT

BLACK PANTHER - PEACE & FREEDOM  
**NEWTON SEALE**  
CONGRESS STATE ASSEMBLY



BLACK PANTHER  
**NEWTON**

BLACK PANTHER - PEACE & FREEDOM  
**NEWTON SEALE**  
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**THE VANGUARD**  
**A Photographic Essay**  
**on the Black Panthers**

**by Ruth-Marion Baruch  
and Pirkle Jones**

**With an Introduction  
by William Worthy**

**Beacon Press    Boston**

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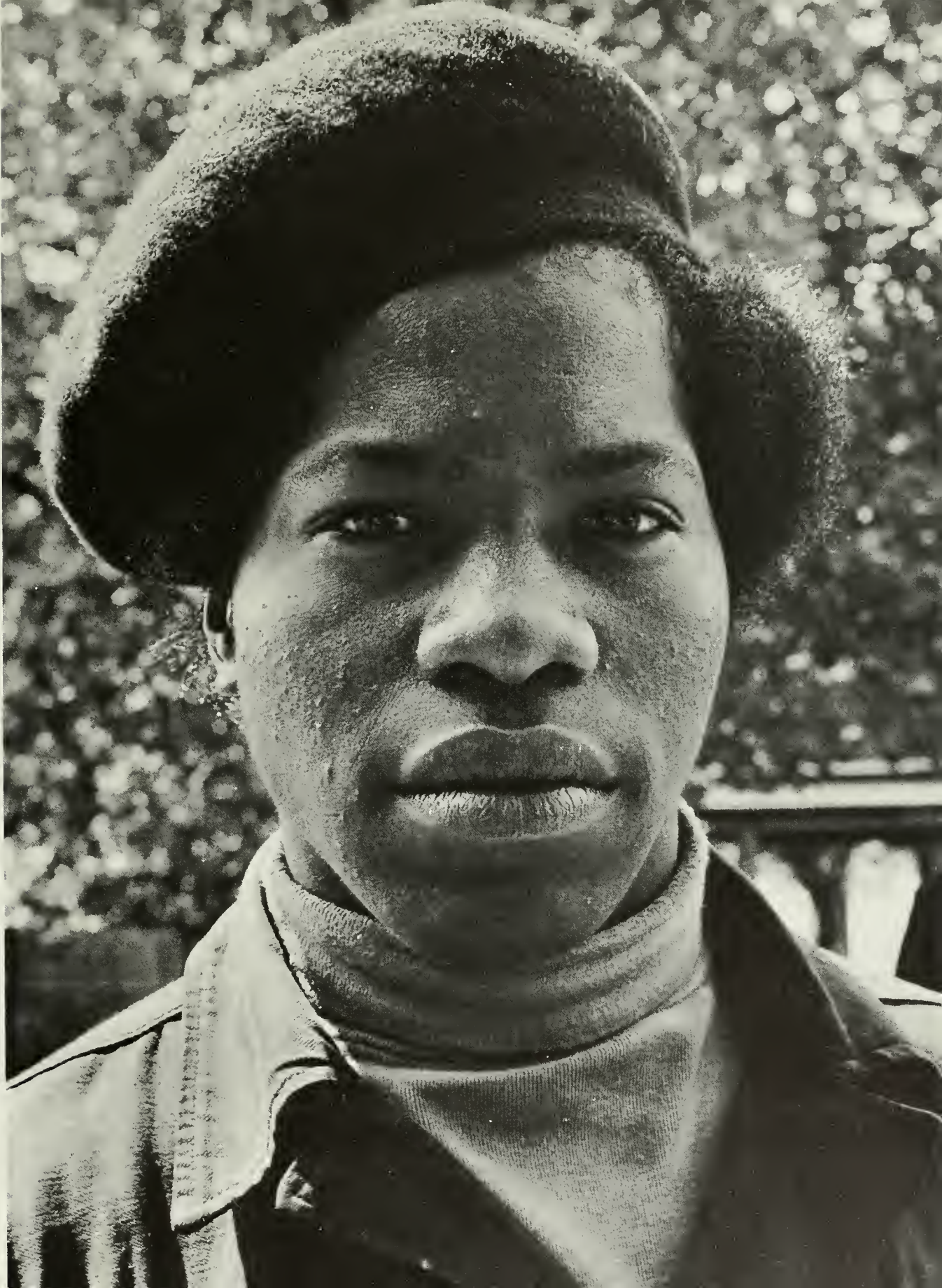
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To Huey, Bobby, Kathleen, Eldridge,  
David, and Garry because they're  
going "right on"





## Preface

It all started the day I happened to see Jack McGregor, then art director of the De Young Museum in San Francisco, in one of the galleries.

"You know," I said to him, "the next thing I really want to do in photography is an essay or series on the Black Panthers, to present the feeling of the people. But," I added in a discouraged tone, "who would show it?"

"We would!" responded Mr. McGregor.

Was that really the beginning? Perhaps it all came about because I am Jewish and have experienced much prejudice myself. I remember that as a student at the University of Missouri I was often forbidden housing and evicted from several places because I was Jewish. These experiences made me feel deeply about anyone who may be treated unjustly for whatever reason. My husband Pirkle came from a Southern family. His father witnessed lynchings and would come home and talk about them, and how they had "cut the Niggers thumbs off." Now, many years later, Pirkle still cries when he speaks of it.

We first learned about the Black Panthers and what they stood for at Peace and Freedom Party meetings. There, we discussed each point of their ten-point program in detail, and then voted to support it. Slowly, we began to comprehend how severely maligned they were by all the communications media. The urge to correct this injustice grew rapidly within me. But I still had some doubts; the stories were almost unbelievable. I could only find out the truth by the reality of confronting them, and I was somewhat fearful.

After several fruitless attempts to contact Kathleen Cleaver, the communications secretary of the Black Panther Party, I attended a talk she gave sometime in June or early July 1968, at the College of Marin. She

addressed the audience with such eloquence and with such obvious honesty, one had to believe her. Besides, she was stunning in her beauty.

Excited about the prospect of my photographic project, I approached her at the conclusion of her talk. I told her what I wanted to do, and that there was the possibility of a museum show. Her response was electric.

"Perhaps you're the one to free the men," she said with great feeling.

"My God," I thought to myself, "can I ever live up to that?"

She told me to phone her husband, Eldridge, Minister of Information, the next morning. When I did, he said, "I can't discuss this over the telephone. Come and see me. I'll be here all day." I told him that I was coming right over.

Pirkle was away at this time, and I must admit that I had some misgivings about going alone.

The Cleavers were not listed among the row of names outside the apartment building, but Eldridge had given me the number, and I rang. A window opened on the third floor and Eldridge put his head out, asking me to step back, so that he could see me.

He must have decided that I was all right. He let me in the building. He answered his apartment door himself, and smiled broadly upon seeing me. He seemed to be alone. I had brought my camera just in case a good opportunity would present itself. As soon as we reached the main room, he grinned self-consciously and said, "Do you want to take my picture?" I knew this just wasn't the time. Besides, I preferred to sit down and talk with him first.

Eldridge was nervously pacing and looking out the window, sitting down one moment, rising the next. He was expecting a group of people to appear. When they arrived a few minutes later, Eldridge apologized, explaining that this meeting was important and had

arisen after my telephone call.

I was disappointed. I had hoped to establish a working relationship that day. I also felt that he failed to take me seriously as a photographer.

"Kathleen said you were OK," he said kindly, trying to reassure me; and, perhaps because I looked so downcast, as I was leaving, he told me that there would be a Free Huey Rally on Sunday, July fourteenth, at De Fremery Park in Oakland, and a demonstration in front of the Alameda County Court House the following morning.

"You go there," he said, "and I'll see you working. I'll know you're there. And you can talk to me then . . . as long as you want to."

I realize now that I should have known better than to expect an immediate "open sesame" to work with the Panthers.

Pirkle returned and I told him what had transpired. As yet, he had not expressed interest in the project. I had visualized it from its conception as my own.

I had such misgivings, however, of driving around in the tangle of freeways and streets of Oakland, finding my way to De Fremery, that Pirkle said, "I'll drive you there if you really want to go, but then, I'll take my camera too."

I thought for a moment and then said, "OK."

As soon as we arrived at De Fremery and saw the Panthers and their audience, we responded with excitement. From that moment on, we both became deeply involved and committed to the project.

During our first rally, we concentrated mostly upon the audience. Although the Panthers did not object to being photographed at a distance, many would not let us come up close. This came much later. We discovered that the Panthers formed a solid circle of guards around their leaders and speakers at all rallies, and no one could get through their ring without permission.

After the first photography session, we showed our work to Mr. McGregor of the De Young Museum. On the basis of the few photographs produced and our past reputation, he not only promised a show, but agreed to our request for an early date. He also realized the timeliness of the subject.

So we accepted, but not without wondering if we could meet the challenge. We stood there, looking at the long walls, awed by the immensity of our commitment. With a touch of the dramatic, McGregor gave us as the opening date, December seventh, Pearl Harbor day.

Our next move was to contact the Cleavers to show them our first photographs. Their reaction was sensitive and immediate. They loved the photographs. "Why do your photographs have feeling," Eldridge asked, "and none of the work I've seen of us by other photographers, has?"

Pirkle explained to him that we had the feeling that photography was much the same thing as writing; some writers have it, and some don't: in other words, a creative process. I don't believe he ever thought of photographs in these terms before, but he understood what Pirkle meant. They were both also sensitive, creative people.

Much encouraged, we brought them work periodically, and gave them a selection of prints each time, for whatever use they desired. They used many of them in their paper. I want to stress here that at no time did Kathleen, Eldridge, or Jack McGregor, with whom we had periodic visits also, censor a single image. We were given complete freedom to choose whatever we wanted to include in the show. As far as the text was concerned, it was another matter. It was limited by the museum.

Kathleen had written out a list of the captains of various offices for us to contact. We found that each contact had to be established by us, each time. We explained and reexplained what we were doing, for



there were always new faces, and sometimes showed them work. It was always amazing to us how well they responded to our images. For example, one Black Panther, upon seeing a few photographs, looked up, smiling warmly, and said, "The beautiful thing about it is, that all you have to do is show it like it is."

One day, on attending a rally, we were permitted to photograph the leaders at as close a range as we cared to. When among the rank and file, a few individuals objected, we always respected their wishes.

There came a time when I felt that we must photograph Huey Newton, the founder and leader of the Black Panther Party, who was being held at the Alameda County Court House Jail in Oakland, during the period of his trial for allegedly killing an Oakland policeman.

I called his attorney, Charles Garry, to see if arrangements could be made. After listening to why we wanted to do this, Garry said, "How about tomorrow morning?"

I had a previous engagement, so I hesitated at the early date. "Honey," he explained, "if you don't come tomorrow morning, they'll whisk him away so fast, no one will be able to see him."

None of us knew then, but that was to be the last day before his conviction.

Garry was already inside the jail with Huey when we arrived. We didn't know if we'd have as much as five minutes to work. But we had all the time we wanted and worked for over an hour. Afterwards, we were both physically and emotionally drained.

It was an experience meeting Huey Newton. Had we met him anywhere else, we would have loved him too, but there in the jail, with his life in jeopardy, he greeted us with a warm smile. He spoke to Garry with great interest in matters related to the welfare of the Party, rather than his own fate. He seemed to us to still be very much the leader. He listened and weighed Garry's

advice and suggestions, sympathetically. He was never dogmatic about Garry's instructions. Obviously, Garry and he had a relationship of great trust and friendship.

Sensitive and responsive, Huey's face was a joy to photograph. We were both deeply moved by him and Garry. Garry, sometime later, told us that Huey is just about the finest person that he ever met.

At the time of this writing, many of the Black Panther leaders have been falsely arrested and accused of serious crimes. Bobby Seale is accused of murder, David Hilliard of attempted murder. Emory Douglas was arrested for assault on an officer, and Charles Bursey was convicted of attempted murder. Eldridge, of course, had to go underground in order to survive; and George Murray, who was imprisoned after we photographed him, was recently released on the promise that he would disassociate himself from the Panthers. All of these, and many more, are people we had worked with and grown to respect.

We had to cease photographing for the show during October in order to have sufficient time to make the large prints. We could have photographed much longer. We could still be photographing. In fact, it was not until after the show was exhibited in San Francisco, that the Free Hot Breakfast for Children program was initiated. VI, a cooperative Swedish weekly magazine, commissioned us to do this after its inception, and we did it in close association with one of their important writers, Goran Holmberg. Now, there are the liberation schools, and plans for free medical clinics have been formulated.

Shortly before the show was due to open, and all the prints were completed, we had what we thought would be a last routine meeting with Mr. McGregor. It turned out to be quite a different story. He greeted us by saying that the press was just too unfavorable and that he wanted to postpone the show.

I asked, "Till when?"

He replied, "Till things cool down."

I said, "They never will." Who was to say, I pointed out, that if he did give us another date, the same thing wouldn't recur. I told him that we wouldn't postpone the show, and Pirkle agreed. Mr. McGregor shrugged his shoulders and said something to the effect that it was a beautiful show and that he still wanted it, but the press was just too bad.

"All the more reason," Pirkle said, "to have the show."

We mentioned that this was a breach of promise not only to us, but to the Panthers, as well as others who were looking forward to its presentation. We pressed the point that this was art censorship, and that the viewpoint or opinion of the artist was his own right, and his, not the director's, responsibility. Mr. McGregor agreed, but stated that he was just too concerned that the museum's budget would be cut, and he had hopes that the museum would be expanded. Finally, he informed us that he had written City Hall for permission to hang the show, and that if they said go ahead, we'd have the exhibit; otherwise not.

We left depressed. All the prints were beautifully mounted on masonite, the announcements were already stamped; no one had helped us finance any part of the show. We felt our message was urgent and timely.

After talking this over with friends, we were given the excellent advice not to wait till City Hall made a decision, but to take action immediately on our own, since we had a pretty good idea of what that would probably be. They recommended that we present the matter as an art problem — art censorship, pure and simple.

Pirkle called up the leading art critic of a San Francisco newspaper and explained the story. The critic was upset, but added that he could understand Mr. McGregor's position. Pirkle told him that we didn't want any mudslinging. We just wanted our

show. He said he'd see what he could do. He handed the matter over to another art critic of the same paper, who then phoned us. He heard the story and said that in any case he would review the show. If it didn't go up as scheduled, he would come to our house and review it there. Pirkle told him, further, we'd have a protest show somewhere if the museum wouldn't hang it. The art critic sent some men down to City Hall to find out what was transpiring.

Later that day, he called us back and said to come down to the newspaper and bring some prints. They were considering a story. We rushed down to the paper with a complete set of prints suitable for reproduction.

The city editor met us both, hastily, and then we were approached by a member of the staff who was evidently designated to see the work. There seemed to be an electric tension in the air. We requested that we show the prints in some quiet room, and this was granted us.

The writer looked at every photograph. One of her comments was that they had a number of fine staff photographers, some of whom she considered artists, but she had never seen photographs like these of the Panthers, and she wondered why their photographers hadn't done at least as well. Then she informed us that they found it necessary to wear crash helmets when photographing the Panthers, and she couldn't understand how we could have gotten these photographs. At any rate, she decided they were definitely art. She added that she realized artists didn't like to fight, for it just wasn't in their nature.

Finally, I said, "Do you want to run one of these photographs, or what?"

She answered that they wanted to keep this out of the paper, but that we would get our show, which was really what we wanted. She then told us that we would be notified by telephone as to the outcome.

Several days later, I answered the tele-

phone and Mr. McGregor was on the line. He stated that after much deliberation it was decided that it would be less damaging to hang the show, than not to hang it; and that he personally was glad that it was going up.

Record crowds attended the show every day of the six weeks it had been scheduled, so Mr. McGregor called and asked if they couldn't extend it for two more weeks. We were delighted.

The gratifying thing was that the crowds were not only large in number, but were unusually attentive, studying each photograph and reading each caption. Many black people came, including numerous Panthers. There never was any disturbance or destruction, as the museum feared there would be.

Since the San Francisco exhibit, our collection has been shown at The Studio Museum in Harlem and at Dartmouth College, and a number of requests have been made by other institutions.

Changes are constant within the Black Panther Party and many changes have occurred since these photographs were taken. Some of the Panthers shown in this book are no longer members. We do not claim to have photographed all aspects of the Black Panther Party. We can only tell you: This is what we saw. This is what we felt. These are the people.

Ruth-Marion Baruch

Mill Valley, California  
September 1969





# DAILY POLITICAL WORK

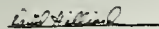
ALL FUNCTIONARIES—men and women are to sell papers daily throughout various communities. This is all inclusive of Captains, Section Leaders, etc.

Only assigned office staff are to be permanent in this office.

All Section Leaders are responsible for distributing leaflets, propagandizing, etc.

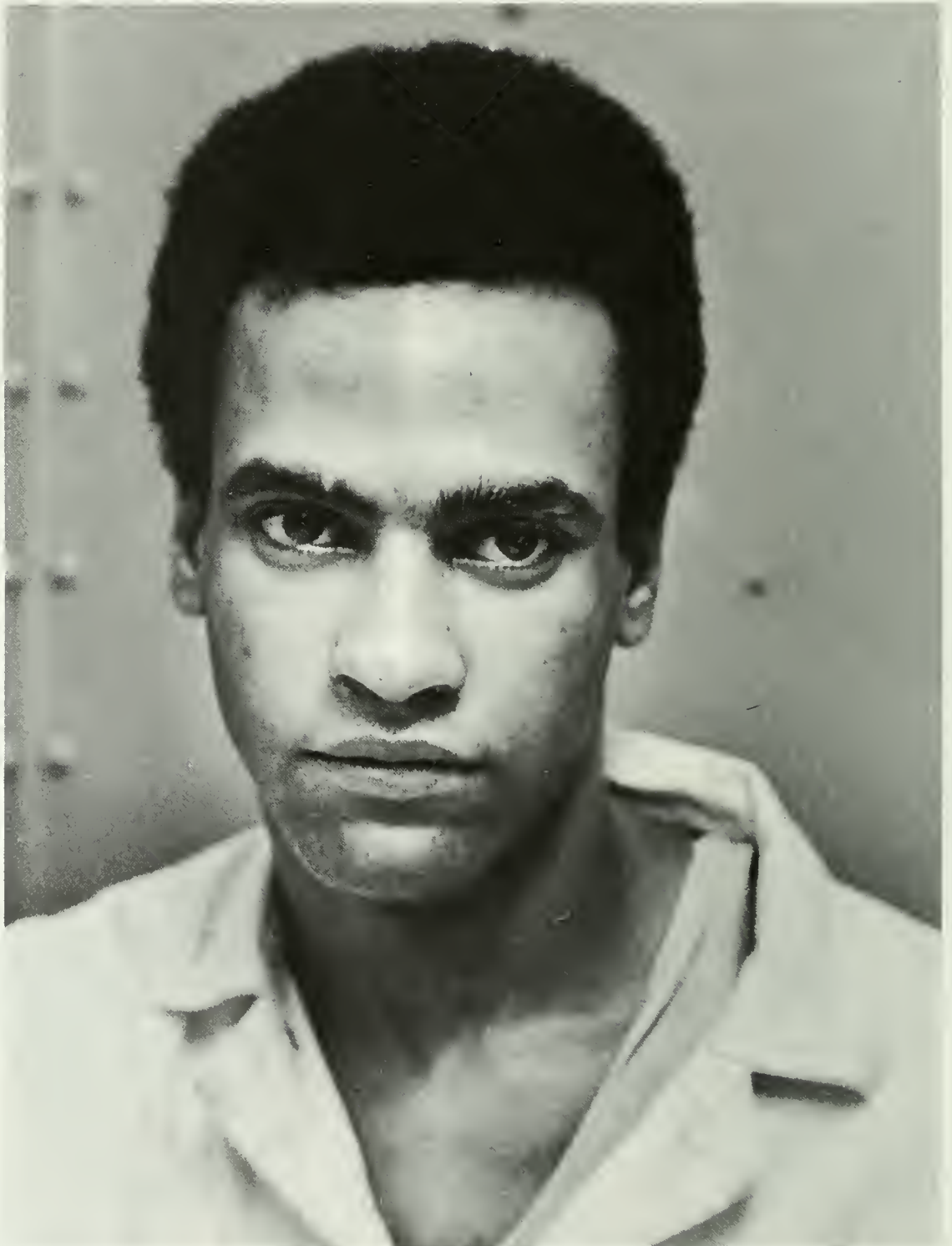
Section Leaders submit daily reports to Chief of Staff. All laggards will be suspended immediately.

Maintenance of office should be rotated, so each Section exercises equal work.

  
DAVID HILLARD, CHIEF OF STAFF

Sign posted in National Headquarters,  
Berkeley, California, September 26, 1968







Huey P. Newton, founder, leader, and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, in the Alameda County Court House jail, the day before his sentence was pronounced, September 26, 1968





Charles R. Garry, chief defense council for Cleaver, Newton, and other members of the Black Panther Party, where he was conferring with his client, Huey P. Newton, at the Alameda County Court House jail, September 26, 1968







Black Panther demonstration in front of  
the Alameda County Court House, Oakland,  
California, during Huey Newton's trial,  
July 30, 1968

# ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE





## **The Panthers in the Imperial Homeland**

**by William Worthy**

“Fortunately this impossible society creates the Left faster than the organized Left can destroy itself.”

— Elden T. Boothe  
(Letter to the editor, *The Guardian*)

With their bows and arrows, the small and weak Indian tribes that were so easily and pitilessly wiped out during the first phase of European colonization of North America were the spiritual progenitors of the Black Panthers.

The thirteen British colonies created secure and stable communities by eliminating the Indian tribes in the New England and Middle regions. This resulting internal security was a crucial factor in the success of both the colonial struggle for independence and the westward expansion to the Pacific. In the last several years there has been another open season on the several thousand Panthers, now also labeled as a threat to mighty white America. The cops and FBI have shot up numerous Panther storefront headquarters with the same racist zeal that the U.S. Army platoon in South Vietnam displayed when it wiped out the tiny hamlet of “Pinkville” (Song My).

As the shooting spreads and the repression deepens, only a clairvoyant can foresee the kind of nation to which the Panthers’ “para-intellectual” leaders — such as Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in prison, and Eldridge Cleaver in exile — will one day return. When and if they do, they may be as chastened and as moderate in language as was the homesick Robert Williams\* upon his repatriation in 1969 after a typically rootless and unhappy exile — even though in revolutionary countries.

If, as I suspect, the verdict of time (i.e., the



test of durability) goes against the Panther movement for poor political judgment, headstrong leadership, and unrealistic programs and tactics, then the white radical clique in the Bay Area and elsewhere must be held in part responsible for the routing of the Panthers. Among the less-than-candid white allies, I include those "if only I were black" New Leftists who seek to imitate young black life styles and who have lauded the Panthers no matter what they have said and done. At each Panther-police confrontation, this type of white "supporter" has cheered the Panther on to self-destruction, chalking up and later commemorating the fatal shoot-outs from within the immunity of white skins. On sober reflection (in jail, in exile, on the lam), even the most fervent Panthers — the ones whom whites describe as "sensitive to white criticism" — would sensibly have preferred a disapproving or precautionary silence to false applause.

Of Panther origins and development, enough is generally known for detailed recapitulation here to be unnecessary. On the other hand, it would be most worthwhile to see a lengthy scholarly analysis of how this novel stateside liberation movement, made up largely of organizationally inexperienced "brothers off the block," kept itself afloat while under day-and-night official harassment from Oakland to Boston. For all the shooting and jailing of Panthers that we have read about in the newspapers, they still manage to publish a weekly paper that is distributed nationwide. They remain a tactical mobile force that is frequently the first to appear, whether on the corner or on the campus, whenever rebellions erupt. All the same, amidst this impressive display of

talent, imagination, and will, there clearly remained, as early as the Party's founding in 1966, underlying points of vulnerability.

The Panther programs, for instance, have been ideologically weak from the beginning. The Ten Points, shown among the photographs, are partly naive, largely reformist. One of the points, for example, is a tepid petition for community control of the police. Nowhere do those in power voluntarily surrender the guns, or relinquish control of the gunmen (in this case, the police) that maintain their power. Petition campaigns signify nothing in the real world of power. How is it expected that the power that whites achieved by force will be re-distributed by petitions — especially if circulated in white neighborhoods by white Panther allies?

For those anywhere who wish to resist the United States world empire — and the Panthers certainly do — the penalties these days can be fatal for faulty political analysis and the egomania of authoritarian leaders. If rank-and-file dedication and self-effacement were enough, the strong and committed faces so beautifully caught in this photographic essay would be telling readers a quite different story of battles won in the struggle for liberation. But when mistake is piled upon mistake, any besieged organization soon passes the point of no return. With enemy guns peppering every escape route, even a belatedly desired change in direction becomes impossible. Because of heavy police infiltration, it is now much too late for known Panthers or other marked militants to shift effectively to underground status.

From the viewpoint of the "Third World" waiting eagerly for relevant results, the biggest disappointment has been the Panthers' failure to engage United States imperial power and their failure to open a second front in the imperial homeland. Seeing U.S. guns still trained on them from every ocean and from all the skies, Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans now know

\*President of the separatist "Republic of New Africa" and author of *Negroes With Guns*. Once the head of the Monroe, N.C., NAACP chapter, he fled the United States in 1961 after being charged with kidnaping a white couple during a demonstration.

With the indictment still pending, he returned to this country in September 1969, after eight years in Cuba, China, North Vietnam, and Tanzania.

that, despite all the clamor and bandoliers and television rhetoric, the Panthers haven't had the slightest inhibiting and distracting impact on the dispersal and disposition of the colonial Seventh Fleet in Asian waters, the counter-revolutionary Caribbean Fleet in this seething hemisphere, the imperious Sixth Fleet in Afro-NATO waters, and the Green Berets stationed as centurions in the unruly nooks and crannies of the new Roman empire. Together with unnecessary and murderous intergroup rivalries with other militant organizations, the domestic armed forces — the local cops, the FBI, and the always expanding ghetto “desk” of the CIA — have been more than sufficient to cut down the Panther movement.

Beaten armies learn well. This is not the first major setback in an anticolonial struggle destined to be ultimately successful. Everything has its time and place. Leaving aside the ripeness of the hour for militant posturing, the United States in the late 1960s was not for the Panthers as constituted, in any but a transient sense. Yet to the cause of freedom and justice they have made a real but limited contribution.

*“Do you really believe the FLN has a chance of defeating the French Army?” a European reporter asked a captured underground leader in the film, “The Battle of Algiers.” “I believe we have a better chance of defeating the French Army than the French Army has of defeating history.”*

Whatever arises from the Black Panther ashes of the 1960s will have to be wiser, less hierarchical, and far more adroit. From outside our ghettos and Casbahs, that reborn movement will require mature and unpatronizing white brothers and sisters — with the grace to be truthful whenever black militants are blundering into traps; with the guts to say, for example: “You, of all persons, cannot afford to be involved in any kind of rationalized hustle, in any variety of drugs or pot, or in any other juvenile irrelevancy.”

From their strategic vantage points inside the enemy camp, this totally new breed of authentic whites will be in a position to flash appropriate warnings every time the counter-revolution lays down ingenious new types of land mines — as it must and as it will.

Boston, Massachusetts  
December 2, 1969





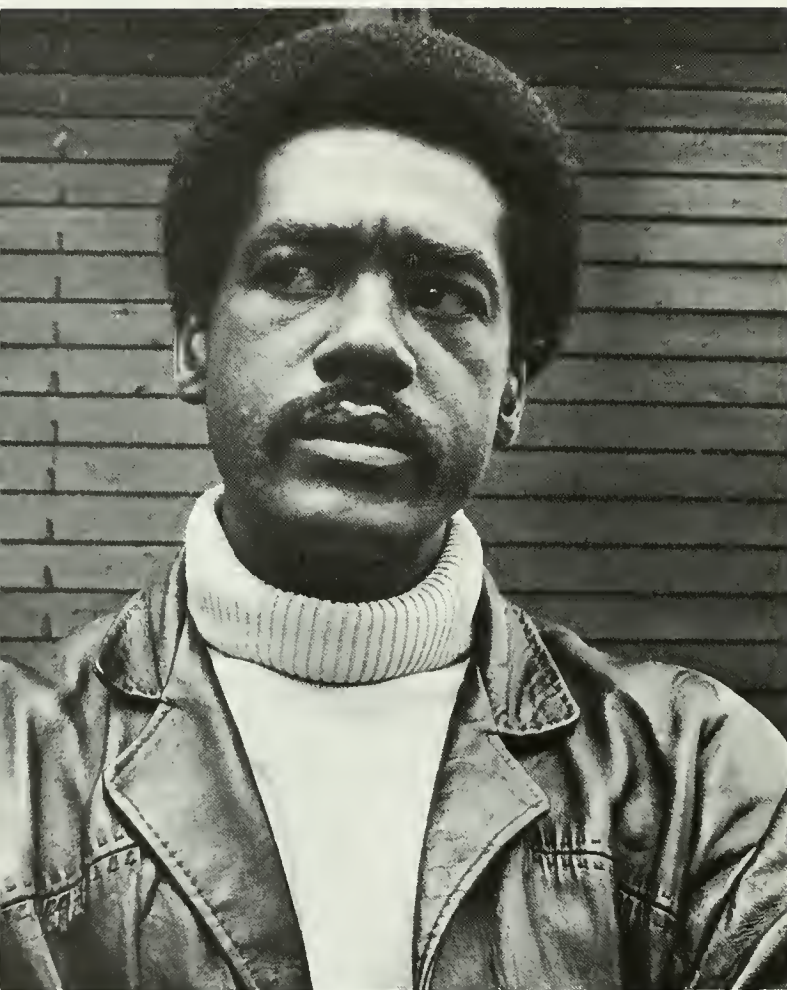


Kathleen Cleaver, Communications Secretary of the Black Panther Party, and wife of Eldridge Cleaver, De Fremery Park, Oakland, California, July 14, 1968

Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, Editor of *The Black Panther*, Author of *Soul on Ice*, Senior Editor of *Ramparts Magazine*, Candidate for President of the United States for the Peace and Freedom Party, at Free Huey Rally, Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, Oakland, California, August 25, 1968







Bobby Seale, Chairman and co-founder of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, Oakland, California, August 25, 1968



Balloting at the Peace and Freedom Party State Convention, when Eldridge Cleaver was nominated as a candidate for President of the United States, San Francisco, California, August 3, 1968





## **REVIEW OF PANTHER GROWTH AND HARRASSMENT**

October, 1966 to May, 1967

The Black Panther Party started armed patrols in the black community and, as a result of their activities, were subjected to continuous harassment by the pigs.

May 2, 1967

Thirty members of the Black Panther Party carried firearms to Sacramento. The brothers carried their weapons into the Capitol to protest the state assembly's attempt to pass a bill infringing upon the Panther's right to bear arms as guaranteed by the 2nd amendment to the Constitution.

May 22, 1967

Chairman Bobby Seale was arrested and charged with an obscure law making it a crime to possess a weapon in the vicinity of a jail. The law dated back to the 1800's.

October 28, 1967

Huey P. Newton was wounded and arrested following a shooting incident in Oakland. One pig died as a result of the shooting and another was wounded.

January 15, 1968

National Captain David Hilliard arrested while passing out leaflets at Oakland Tech.

January 16, 1968

At 3:30 am, San Francisco pigs broke down the door of Eldridge Cleaver's apartment at 850 Oak St., San Francisco, and searched the apartment – without a warrant. Eldridge, his wife Kathleen, and Panther Revolutionary Artist Emory Douglas were present.

February 5, 1968

At 1:00 am, a Panther and his girlfriend were arrested for “disturbing the peace,” after a rally at which Dr. Spock spoke. They were beaten in jail.

February 17, 1968

A "Free Huey" rally was held at the Oakland Auditorium on Huey's birthday. The rally was an outstanding success, attended by over 5,000 people. Eldridge Cleaver was the master of ceremonies.

February 24, 1968

Panther Jimmy Charley approached a pig who was in the act of assaulting a black person, and questioned the officer. He was promptly arrested and charged with "resisting arrest."

February 25, 1968

At 3:30 am pigs broke down the door of Bobby Seale's home, where Bobby and his wife, Artie, were in bed asleep. There was no warrant. The pigs said they were acting on a complaint indicating Bobby in a vague "conspiracy to commit murder" charge, which was promptly dropped for lack of evidence. Shotgun-toting pigs confiscated weapons and arrested Mr. and Mrs. Seale. Four other Panthers, in a car nearby, were also arrested a short time later, and charged with misdemeanors.

Third & fourth weeks of February, 1968

A rash of arrests of black men, either in the Panthers or identified with them. One of the incidents took place in front of the Natural shop on San Pablo St., in Oakland. This incident happened when the pigs stopped the car of a black youth on an alleged traffic violation in front of the shop. The pig pulled the youth from the car, threw him against the car door and beat him brutally. About ten Panthers and their associates gathered around to protest and were arrested. This rash of arrests coincided with the visit of Stokely Carmichael to the Bay Area.

April 3, 1968

The pigs entered Father Neil's church in Oakland where the Panthers were holding a meeting. A black youth associated with the Panthers (but not authorized by them to possess a gun) was, according to the pigs, drunk and waving a gun outside the church. The pigs surrounded the church and entered it, about twelve of them, with 12 gauge shotguns held in front of them in a threatening manner. They were accompanied, inexplicably, by a white Catholic priest and a black clergyman, both from Oakland. David Hilliard came out of the sanctuary and refused to allow police to enter the sanctuary. Upon seeing Hilliard, the pigs lowered their guns and cast their eyes about, looking for someone else. The Panthers are convinced they were looking for Bobby Seale.

April 6, 1968

Several Panthers in cars in west Oakland on Saturday night, April 6, were approached by two pigs and menaced with guns. When the Panthers tried to defend themselves, shooting began, and the Panthers ran into a nearby house. After about 90 minutes of shooting by some 50 members of the Oakland pig department, who set fire to the house and filled it with tear gas, the Panthers were forced to surrender. With floodlights covering the house, Bobby Hutton walked out with his hands up. Someone yelled that he had a gun and he was shot. He was not armed; no gun was found anywhere near his body. Eldridge Cleaver, wounded in the leg, and eyes badly burned by tear gas, came out. In total, nine persons were arrested, including Panther National Captain David Hilliard. Two pigs were wounded slightly.



April 9, 1968

Two Black Panther women were going about Oakland in a car putting up posters announcing the candidacy of Huey Newton for Congress and Bobby Seale for Assembly on the Peace and Freedom ticket. Twelve pigs with shotguns stopped their car and searched it — without probable cause. Throughout the day, patrol cars circled the Newton-Seale campaign headquarters. Sam Napier and other Panthers were physically stopped by the pigs from putting up campaign posters. The pigs have been spotted by Oakland residents tearing down Newton-Seale posters.

April 13, 1968

Four members of the Black Panther party were returning from Bobby Hutton's funeral when they were arrested on suspicion of robbery. Since it was Friday, they were to be kept over the weekend before they could be arraigned. This is a typical pig procedure — it means three days detention instead of overnight before a court appearance. The robbery took place on Monday. Furthermore the robbery car was driven by one person with one passenger. Four people were arrested Friday. The car was in the shop being repaired at the time of the alleged robbery. On Sunday, after a weekend of work by Attorney Alex Hoffman, the "Suspects" were released — they couldn't be identified as having even a remote connection with the alleged robbery. When arrested they were maced; they were taken in with drawn guns.

May 1, 1968

A sixteen year old girl was arrested for extortion for selling Huey buttons.

June 8, 1968

Bobby Seale was convicted of carrying a loaded shotgun near a jail. Chairman Bobby was sentenced to three years probation.

June 12, 1968

Eldridge Cleaver was released from Vacaville prison where he had been held as a political prisoner.

July 13, 1968

HUEY NEWTON was charged with murder. Judge Friedman denied a motion to strike a prior conviction of assault with a deadly weapon after HUEY had pleaded self-defense.

HUEY P. NEWTON's attorney, Charles R. Garry, went to the State District Court of Appeal for a right to dismiss the prior conviction. It was denied.

July 15, 1968 & July 16, 1968

More than 6,000 people came out in support of Huey Newton at his trial. There were shouts of FREE HUEY, BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL, SET OUR WARRIOR FREE and many others showing the feelings of the people that HUEY should be set free. The crowd was so enormous and the chants so thundering that the employees in the building found it difficult to concentrate.

July 17, 1968

HUEY P. NEWTON took the stand for the first time in his own defense, but only to say that he is a pauper. That he has no money and cannot afford to have people flown from out of town to testify at his trial. The purpose of the testimony was to make it possible for Garry to submit two affidavits from eastern doctors that testified to the fact that certain persons should not be allowed to serve on the jury of brother HUEY P. NEWTON.

HUEY took the stand and said that he was a pauper that he did not have a biscuit or a dime, that he did not have access to the HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND, that he did not know much about it but if they would permit him to be free for a couple of days he could investigate.

July 18, 1968

Garry motioned that the jury for HUEY'S trial should be selected from his peers. He motioned that the panel in which they were going to select HUEY'S jury be dismissed. He called a number of witnesses to the stand to testify.

August 15, 1968

Yesterday three Black Panthers were kidnapped by pigs of several nations in Mexico City as they tried to fly to Cuba. The three were David Hilliard, National Captain; George Murray, Minister of Education, and Landon Williams, a brother being trained for captain.

August 16, 1968

Chairman Bobby Seale and Captain David Hilliard of the Black Panther Party were in Chicago speaking to crowds of 5,000 across the street from the Democratic Convention.

August 17, 1968

Communications Secretary of the Black Panther Party Kathleen Cleaver was refused the right to enter Japan.

September 5, 1968

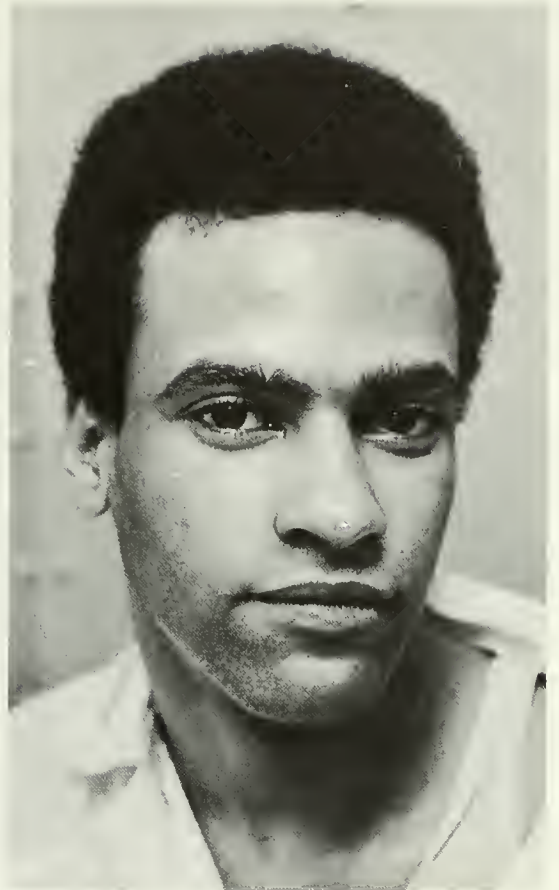
The final arguments by opposing attorneys in HUEY'S trial today. Attorney Charles Garry said that the trial of HUEY was a diabolical attempt to put an innocent man in the gas chamber or jail.

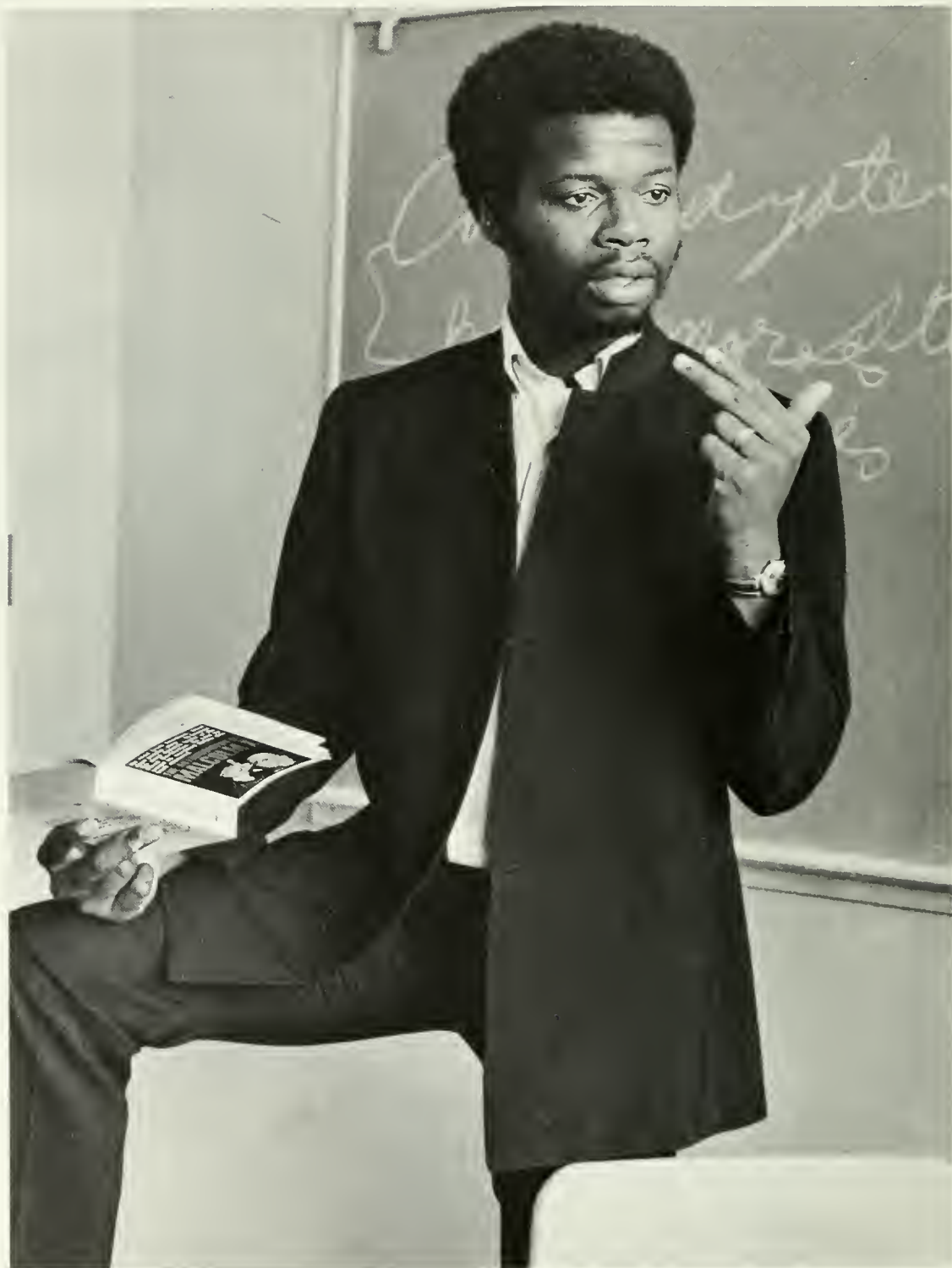
September 8, 1968

Black Panther Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

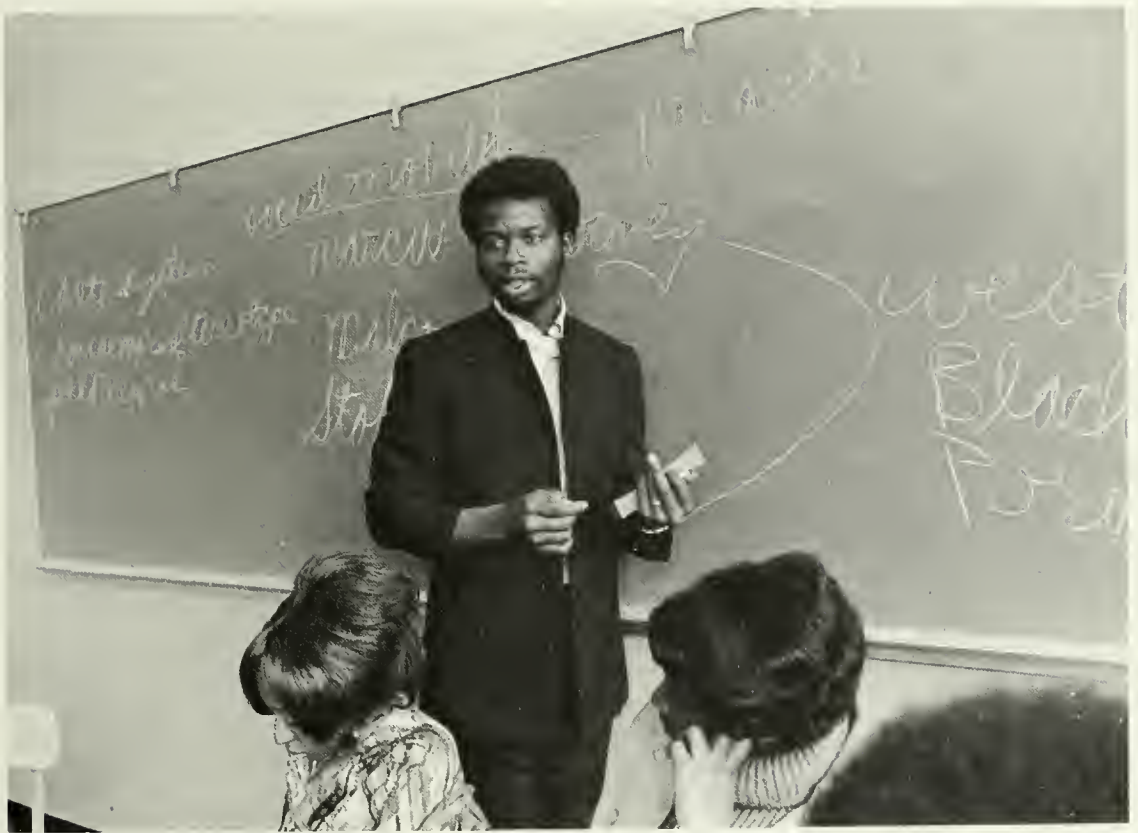
September 28, 1968

HUEY P. NEWTON was sentenced to 2 to 15 years in state prison and removed from Oakland in five minutes. Judge Friedman refused all motions for granting a mistrial of freeing HUEY. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER'S parole was revoked. His parole was revoked the day that the sentence came down on HUEY P. NEWTON as a measure to try and keep him from organizing anyone to act against the court's decision.









George Murray, Minister of Education of the Black Panther Party, teaching English at San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California, October 2, 1968

## **RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**Central Headquarters  
Oakland, California.**

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

### **THE RULES ARE:**

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.

9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.

10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.

11. Party Communications must be National and Local.

12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.

13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.

14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.

15. Each Sub-Section Leaders, Section Leaders, and Lieutenants, Captains must submit Daily reports of work.

16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.

17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.

18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.

19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.

20. COMMUNICATIONS – all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.

21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.

22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.

23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.

24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.

25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.





Harvey Carey, Circulation Manager of *The Black Panther* paper in the San Francisco area, and a member of the campaign committee for both Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver, San Francisco, October 3, 1968



Raymond Lewis, Managing Editor of *The Black Panther* newspaper, and Deputy Minister of Information, San Francisco, California, October 3, 1968, is no longer editor, but has been replaced by Big Man

**OCTOBER 1966  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
PLATFORM AND PROGRAM**

**WHAT WE WANT**

**WHAT WE BELIEVE**

The program is usually divided into one section of ten points entitled "What We Want" and then ten paragraphs explaining these points in a section entitled "What We Believe." For the sake of clarity, we have put each one of the ten points in "What We Want" immediately above its corresponding paragraph in "What We Believe."

**1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.**

**We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.**



**2. We want full employment for our people.**

**We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.**

**3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.**

**We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.**

**4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.**

**We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.**

**5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

**We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.**

**6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.**

**We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.**

**7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.**

**We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.**



**8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.**

**We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.**

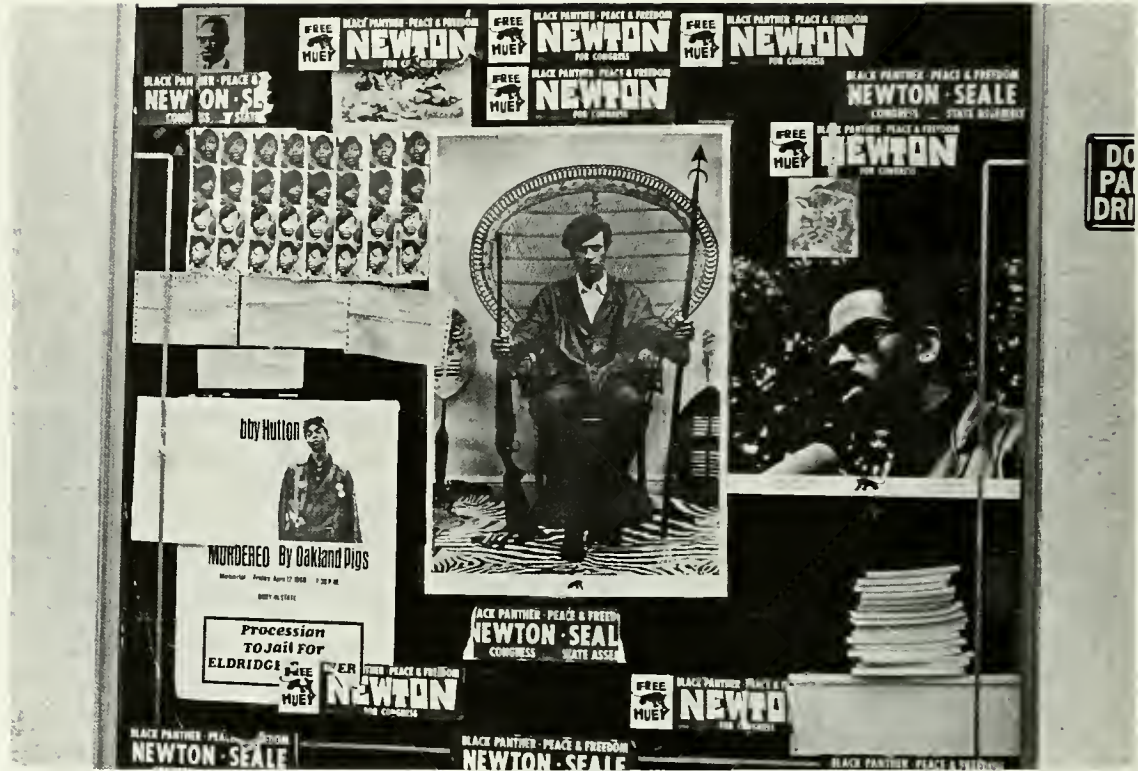
**9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.**

**We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the black community.**

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



National Headquarters, Oakland, California,  
August 12, 1968

Plate glass window of the Black Panther  
Party National Headquarters the morning  
it was shattered by the bullets of two  
Oakland policemen, September 10, 1968





Bobby Hutton, the seventeen-year-old Black Panther, Treasurer of the Black Panther Party, was killed by police as he came out of this gas-filled, burning house. Eldridge Cleaver was injured while still within the house. This shooting occurred April 6, 1968. The photograph was taken August 12, 1968, in Oakland, California.









The CURSE OF ALLAH

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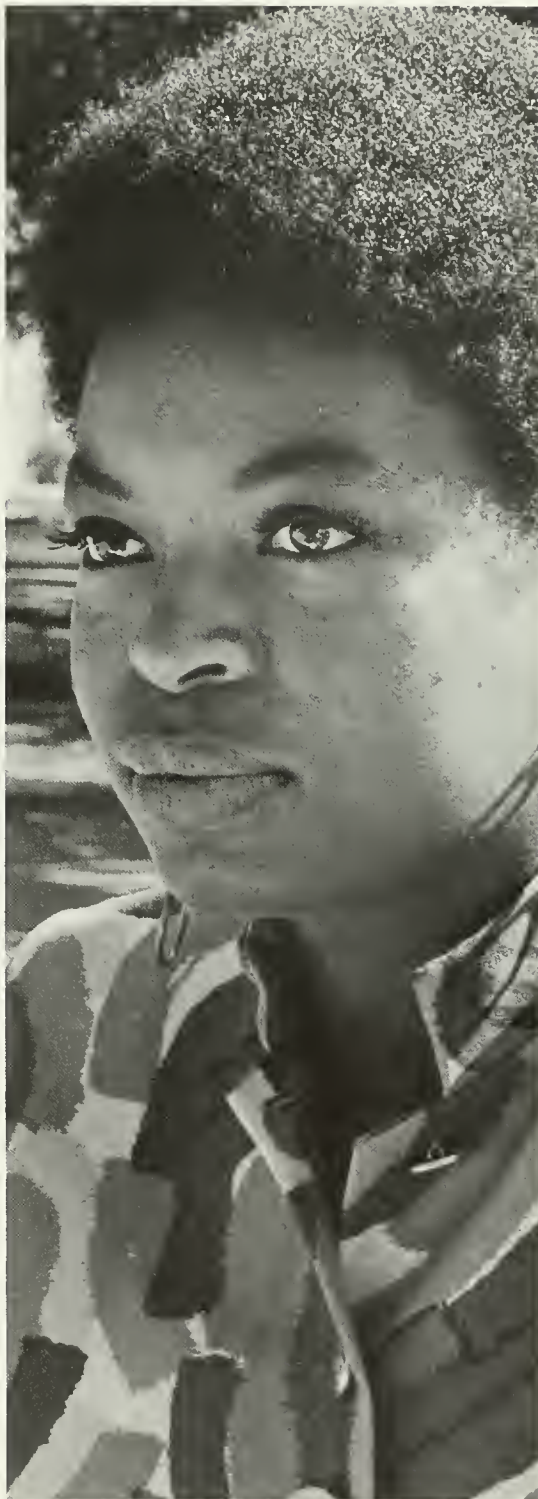




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Free Huey Rally, De Fremery Park, Oakland,  
California, July 14, 1968

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Kathleen Cleaver, Communications Secretary of the Black Panther Party, and wife of Eldridge Cleaver, at a Free Huey Rally, De Fremery Park, Oakland, California, July 14, 1968

















Captain Dexter Woods of the San Francisco Chapter of the Black Panther Party, with walkie talkie, Free Huey Rally, at De Fremery Park, Oakland, California, July 14, 1968











Black Panthers from Los Angeles, guarding  
speaker's platform; Bobby Seale, speaking  
at Free Huey Rally, De Fremery Park,  
Oakland, California, July 14, 1968





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Free Huey Rally, Bobby Hutton Memorial  
Park, Oakland, California, August 25, 1968

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Captain George Gaines (Baby D), of the  
Black Panthers of Marin County, at Bobby  
Hutton Memorial Park, Oakland, California,  
August 25, 1968

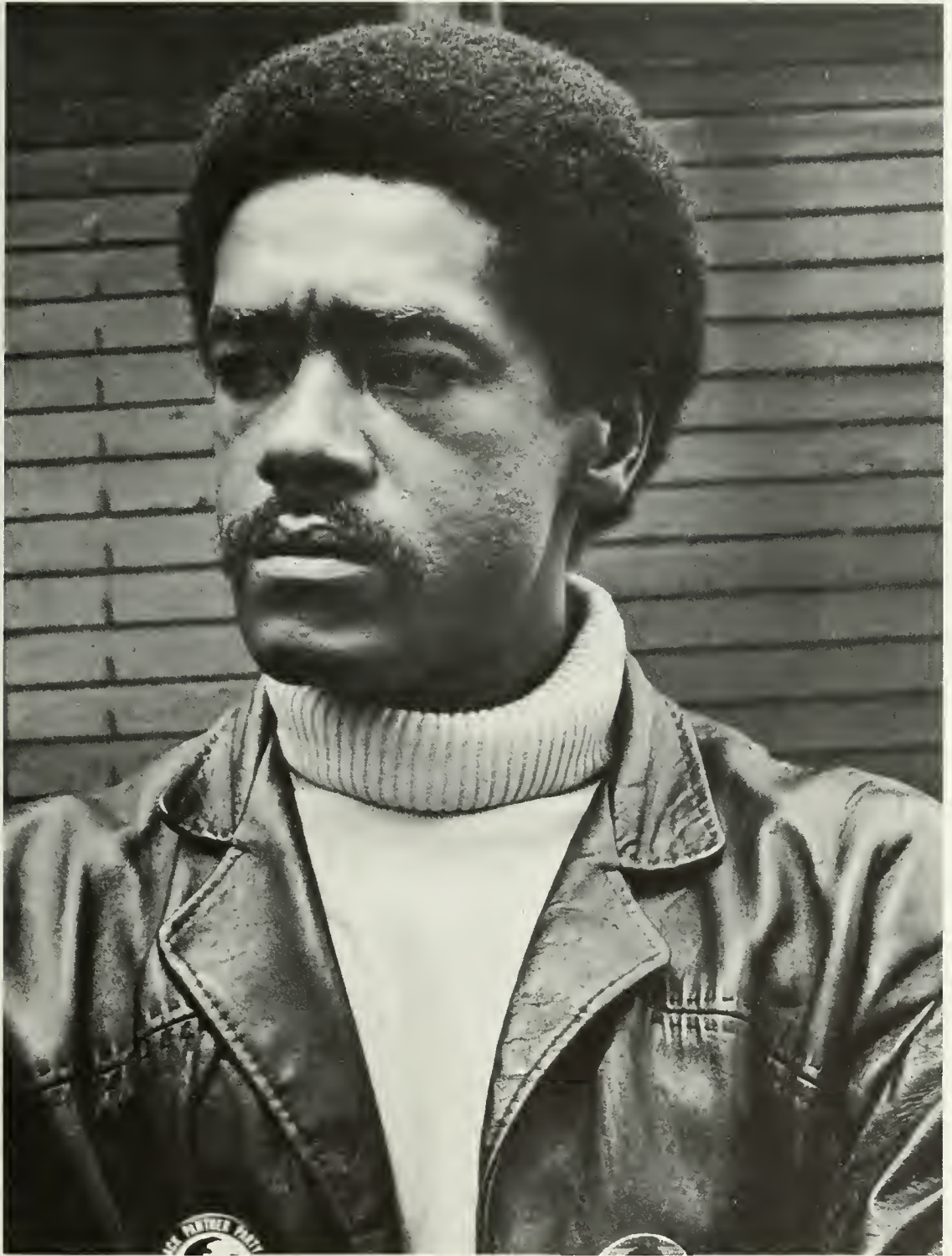








Bobby Seale, Chairman and co-founder of  
the Black Panther Party





Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, talking to Captain Kenny Denmon of the San Diego Black Panthers (on the left) and Captain Charles Brunson of Sacramento, in the center at Free Huey Rally, Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, Oakland, California, August 25, 1968



Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, and Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister, at Free Huey Rally, Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, Oakland, California, August 25, 1968





Black Panthers from Sacramento, Free Huey  
Rally, Bobby Hutton Memorial Park,  
Oakland, California, August 25, 1968









Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture and  
Revolutionary Artist for the Black Panther  
Party, with sister Barbara E, at the Free Huey  
Rally, Bobby Hutton Memorial Park,  
Oakland, California, August 25, 1968





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Free Huey Rally, at Marin City, California.  
August 22, 1968

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Stokely Carmichael, Honorary Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party at Free Huey Rally, Marin City, California, August 22, 1968, is now no longer a member of the party. He disagreed with the Panthers on their desire to work with white people, as well as other matters of their philosophy

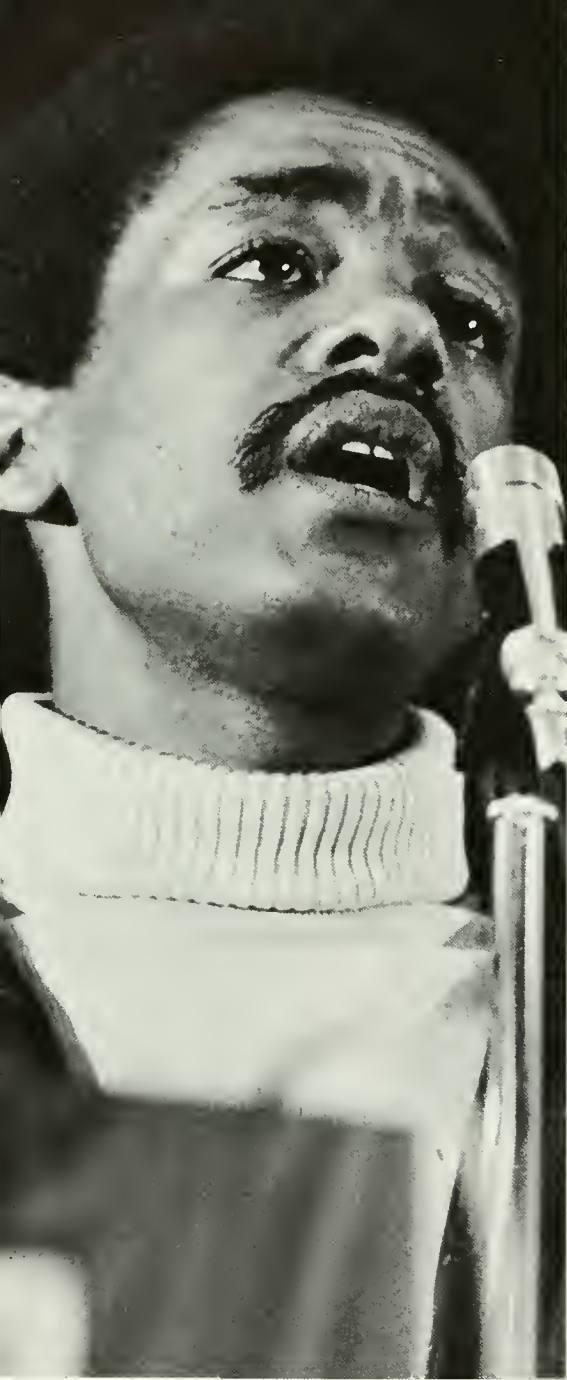








Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of  
the Black Panther Party



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Free Huey Rally, Marin City, California.  
August 22, 1968

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Bobby Seale, Chairman and co-founder of  
the Black Panther Party

Kathleen Cleaver, Communications  
Secretary of the Black Panther Party, and  
wife of Eldridge Cleaver



Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information





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Free Huey Rally, De Fremery Park, Oakland,  
California, July 28, 1968

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Children cutting bread which was brought to the Free Huey Rally by the Diggers



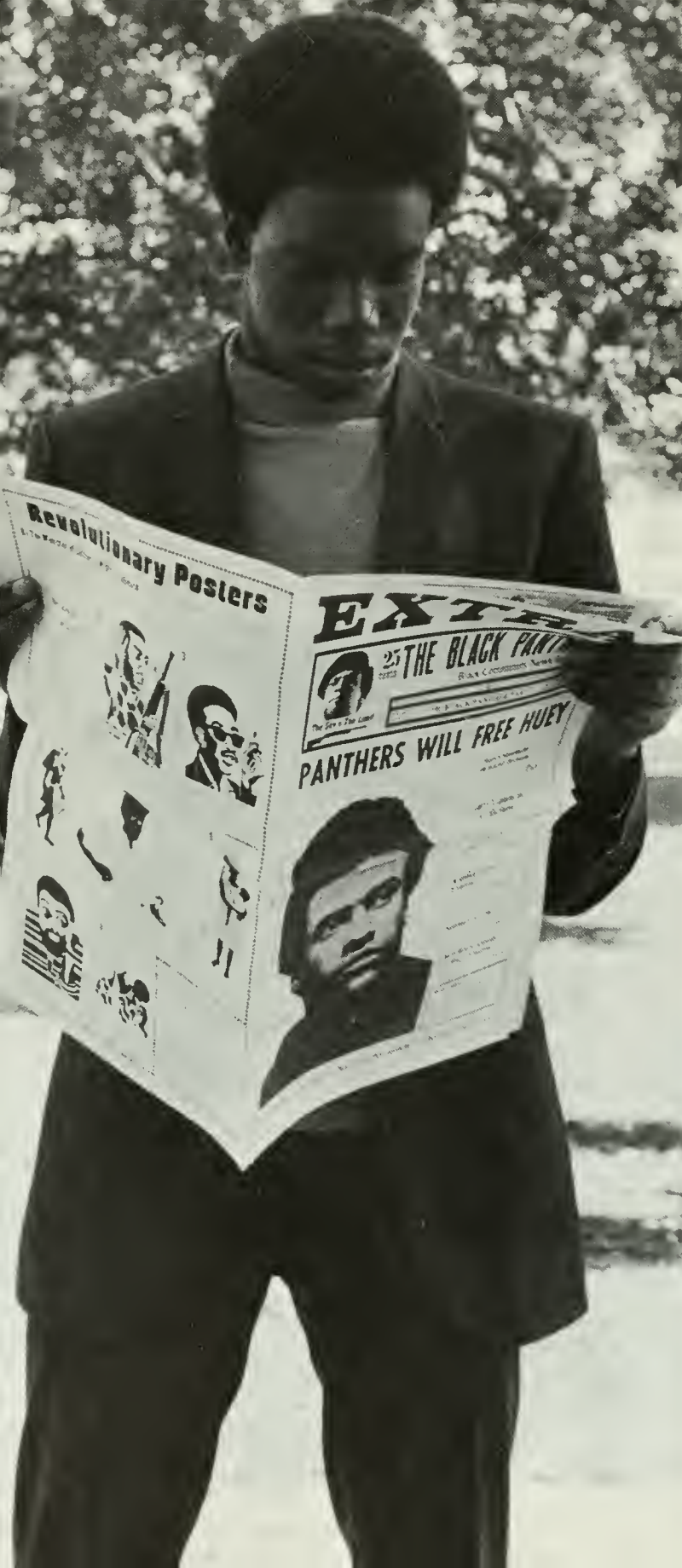












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Free Huey Rally, Bobby Hutton Memorial  
Park, Oakland, California, September  
22, 1968

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Captain David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the  
Black Panther Party, with his family





Kathleen Cleaver and Black Panthers





Left to Right: Black Panthers, Walter Newton  
(brother of Huey P. Newton), Captain Crutch,  
and Jimmy Charley



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Marin City, California, August 31, 1968

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## Breakfast for Children Program

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Rally at the University of California campus,  
Berkeley, California, October 3, 1968

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Kathleen Cleaver, Communications  
Secretary of the Black Panther Party and  
wife of Eldridge Cleaver





Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information



Kathleen Cleaver











Al Lowry, Chairman of the Cleaver for President Campaign Committee of the Peace and Freedom Party, talking to Captain George Gaines (Baby D) of the Black Panther Party in Marin County, at the Unitarian Church, San Rafael, California. Sunday morning, October 6, 1968











## THE VANGUARD

A PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY ON THE BLACK PANTHERS

by Ruth-Marion Baruch and Pirkle Jones



ere are the Black Panthers, shown in a moving collection of photographs by Ruth-Marion Baruch and her husband, Pirkle Jones: stoics in dashikis; a youth in a black leather jacket, tenderly spooning cereal into a child's mouth; faces that show dreams, purpose, rebellion.

These pictures, originally gathered for an exhibit at San Francisco's De Young Museum, comprised what was perhaps the most controversial show in the museum's history — and was certainly one of the most popular. Since the San Francisco exhibit, the photographs have been shown at The Studio Museum in Harlem, and at Dartmouth College.

These varied, candid shots portray the Panthers in their political and personal lives. On the faces of these young men and women are reflected the violence and the hope of America. With an excellent historical interpretation of the Panthers by black journalist William Worthy, *The Vanguard* is a document of our times.

Ruth-Marion Baruch holds a Master of Fine Arts in photography from Ohio University. Pirkle Jones received a degree in photography from the California School of Fine Arts (which his wife also attended), where he studied under Ansel Adams, Minor White, and Homer Page. They have had exhibits at galleries and museums across the United States, including the San Francisco Museum and the Ammon Carter Museum in Texas.



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